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## BEYOND CULTURAL IDENTITY, MIGRATION AND NATIONALISM

### Abstract

*According to data provided by the United Nations, the United States is the country of the world that hosts more immigrants, while India is the nation from which it emigrates more. Italy does not appear in the top ten of the countries with the greatest immigration, while the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Spain are listed. How to reconcile a rise in immigration with the preservation of solidarity within the population that enables the welfare state to function.*

*One of the main topics on which the political debate is focused in view of the last Italian elections of 2018 is certainly immigration, but also this is, and has been, a current topic in other countries in Europe. In an increasingly globalized world one wonders about the goodness and adaptability of the policies implemented so far with regard to immigration. We discuss about their reconciliation with a world that changes and looks at a society that should be based more and more on cultural identity and tolerance.*

*The problem is how to reconcile a rise in immigration with the preservation of solidarity within the population that enables the welfare state to function. A new design of the concept of nation is drawn, and the uses of future, often we are not optimistic about our immediate prospects.*

**Keywords:** cultural identity, migration, election, policy, nationalism, tolerance, solidarity.

In Europe, migration and control of external borders have become serious political issues, which are at the top of the European political agenda, even though the European Union has often been on the verge of definitively abolishing internal borders as is indicated in “Schengen Agreement” that covered the gradual abolishment of the internal borders between countries and an extended control of the external borders, was only signed on 14 June 1985. On June 1990, a Convention was signed for the concrete implementation of the Schengen Agreement, it covered issues on abolition of internal border controls, definition of procedures for issuing a uniform visa, operation of a single database for all members known as SIS (Schengen Information System) as well as the establishment of a cooperating structure between internal and immigration officers.

The enlargement of the Schengen Area continued its prosperous journey as in January 2000 Greece and March 2001 Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, on April 2003 Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia and in October 2004 Switzerland were the new fifteen countries that joined. This successful story did not end there, as in December 2007 the same nations declared the abolishment of their land and sea, and in March 2008 of the airport border controls<sup>1</sup>.

The suppression of internal borders of the European Union is today a really recognition that all the citizens of the states concerned belong to the same space, that they share a common identity. In a time of the new European nationalism, and renewed border controls, of mass

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<sup>1</sup> See Figus A., *Sistema Europa*, Roma, Eurilink, 2011

immigration and terrorism, of fear and insecurity, the Schengen agreement seems quaintly impracticable solution, an instrument that favours immigration.

For result the European Union Commission presented next steps under the European Agenda on Migration and measures to preserve and strengthen Schengen and setting out the next steps to put in place the missing elements of a stronger, fairer and more effective EU migration and asylum policy. Building on the progress achieved so far, the Commission is presenting a series of new initiatives in key areas, including on resettlement and return. The Commission is also today proposing measures to preserve and strengthen the Schengen Area. The problem in Europe is very felt by people, the risk is the return to nationalism, steeped in populism, a departure from the pretext on which cultural identity is based.



<http://bambinoides.com/europes-migration-crisis/>

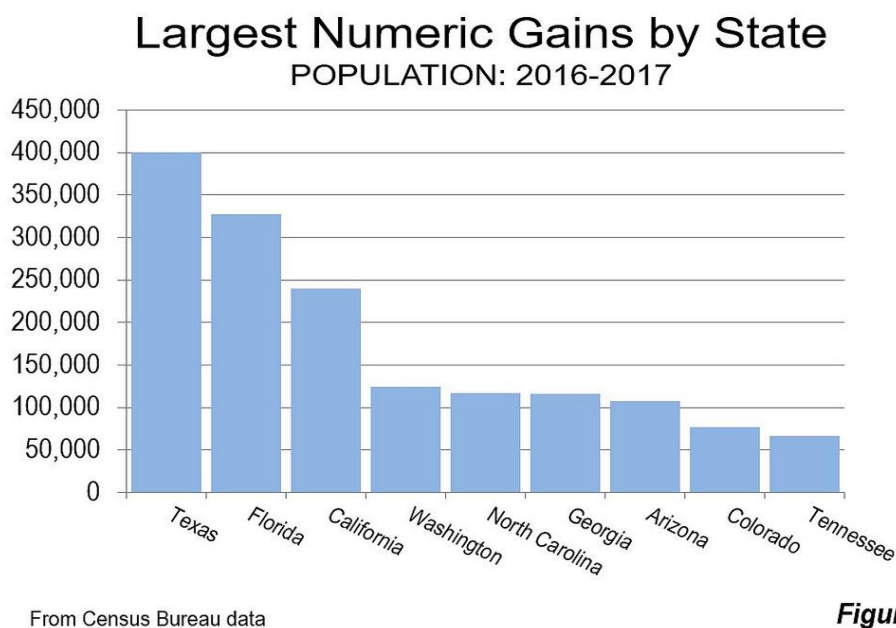
Nowadays the migrants and refugees streaming into Europe from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia have presented European leaders and policymakers with their greatest challenge since the debt crisis. The IOM (International Organization for Migration) considers Europe the most dangerous destination for irregular migration in the world, and the Mediterranean the world's most dangerous border crossing<sup>1</sup>. When we look at Europe, of course we talk about European Union, of its inability to give answers about the migration problem, to its current migrant influx has been a special service more focused on securing the bloc's borders than on protecting the rights of migrants and refugees. However, with nationalist parties' ascendant in many member states, and concerns about Islamic terrorism looming large across the continent, it remains unclear if the bloc or its member states are capable of implementing lasting asylum and immigration reforms. The risk a dangerous return to nationalism

In the United States instead, was a hot topic of public debate in those states where the migration flow was most concentrated, as in Texas, California and Florida. This whole issue has fatally become a central issue in the electoral campaign during the last presidential elections that saw a aggressive battle between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton; already in the new Congress were introduced in the Senate several reforms of immigration law and more than two dozen law

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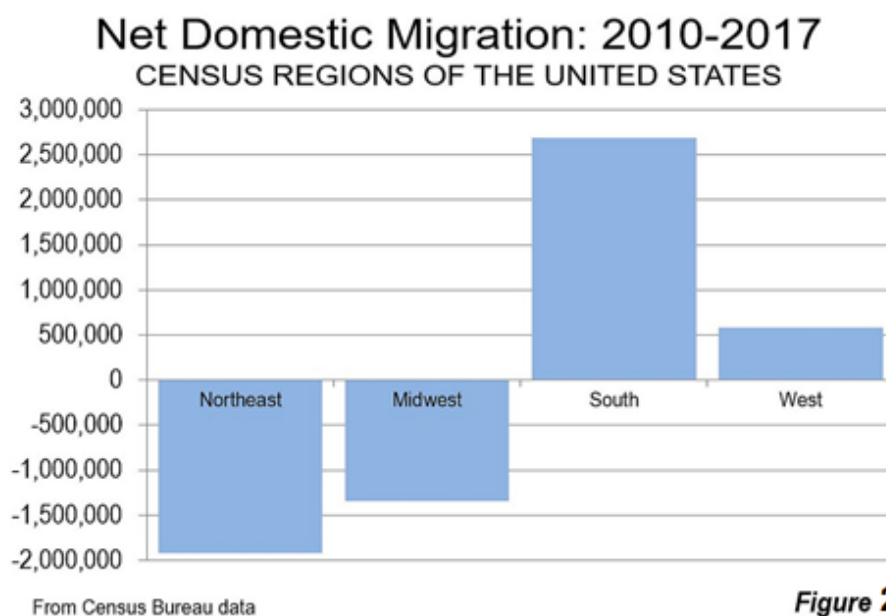
<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.italy.iom.int/>

proposals have gone to the House of Representatives, putting the political triptych of legal and foreign immigrants at the centre of the discussion once again illegal, refugees and asylum seekers.



**Figure 1**

Texas added the most new residents of any state over the past year according to the July 2017 estimates of the United States Census Bureau.



**Figure 2**

Texas grew by 400,000 residents (Figure 1). Florida added 328,000 residents more than one third more than California. Four states grew between 100,000 to 125,000, led by Washington, North Carolina, Georgia and Arizona. Colorado and Tennessee round out the top 10. The ten

states adding the most new residents include five from the South census region and five from the West census region<sup>1</sup>.

Again and again the developmental fractures have forged large migratory divisions in the world. We bring some significant examples as the Rio Grande in Mexico, which separates the United States and Latin America, the Germany-Poland border, which separated Western and Eastern Europe and which was a fracture that represented the East-West rift also at the systemic level political, the Mediterranean that has always, and strongly today, separates Europe from Africa and the Middle East, and that closely involves our territory, Europe from the south of the world, these Mediterranean migratory flows often start in more distant countries.

All this shows that the migratory pressures following global inequality are only wandering in a world that is increasingly in a place with a decreasing percentage of rich people and a growing percentage of the poor. We think that the "family dilemmas" posed by the occupation of illegal workers in Europe as well as in the United States or Canada. These ratios may not be as high as those in migrant *societies*, such as in North America, as well Australia, but they seem inconsistent with the claim that *Japan* is a *society* uniquely lacking minority issues, they are emerging even in a closed, static and racial society like Japan<sup>2</sup>.

Today the traditional North-South opposition is dominated by a difficult situation east-west, not for nothing we find ourselves in a world that no longer lives in space but in global space, in an order that escapes rules governed by a globalization excessive in which the economies regulate the principles. In this context we are faced with two aspects of the same coin, opposed and complementary at the same time: on the one hand a crucial demographic and labour force decline and immigration on the other.

In one generation a pyramid of inverted age is expected following a strong decline in fertility and a rapidly aging population; young European workers, as well as in Japan or other parts of the developed world, increasingly refuse "difficult, dirty and dangerous jobs" the Italian population is estimated in 2018 at 59.3 million according to the latest UN projections. Today in Italy and Japan, the ratios will be closer to one to one. In the United States, there are about four people of working age for every retiree; by 2050, that ratio is forecast to fall to about two workers for every retiree. It is evident that the migrants will continue to help to fill some of this gap in developed countries.

The official Census figures are more optimistic, estimating the population at around 60 million and where Italy's population density is very uneven and the valley of Po (Pianura Padana) is the most densely populated with almost half of the country's population. Other densely packed areas include the metropolitan areas of Naples and Rome. In particular Italy experienced mass emigration from the end of the 19th century through the 1960s with nearly 750,000 Italians emigrating per year from 1898 to 1914. It's thought that this is the largest mass migration in contemporary times and led to a diaspora of 25 million Italians.

Today, over 5 million Italian-born people live abroad. However, since the year '70 Italy began to attract a great deal of foreign immigrants. It's estimated there are over 5 million foreign residents in Italy today, which accounts for 7.5% of the total population. This includes about 500,000 children born in Italy to foreign nationals. Official figures for Italian population exclude illegal immigrants, as their numbers are hard to determine, as birth rates fall and people live longer, population are ageing, so in future, there will be less workers to support the populations of children and retirees in just about every developed country. In Italy, migrants face fines under the

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.newgeography.com/content/005837-the-migration-millions-2017-state-population-estimates>

<sup>2</sup> See Sugimoto Y., *An introduction to Japanese society*, Cambridge press, 2015.

controversial Bossi-Fini immigration law, which stipulates that migrants must secure work contracts before entering the country<sup>1</sup>.

Estimates place their numbers at 670,000 today, many of which are from Eastern Europe and North Africa. The number of illegal immigrants entering the country has increased around the 40% in the last years, according to best estimates. There are also close to 1 million Romanian citizens officially registered in Italy, but today the Romanians have European Union citizenship, followed by Moroccans and Albanians with a population of half a million each.

Given the extremely unequal conditions of life, the number of foreign workers grown rapidly in proportion to the needs of a society leads the immigrant, as is often thought, not to opt for chance, but with a strategy of choice that directs him only and above all where there is work. At present, about 3.5% of people on this planet - or about 190 million - are migrants, down by around 2.2% compared to the 1970 figure. Although the number of migrants has generally increased in absolute terms, this increase was neither rapid nor coherent, it is not correct to generalize when it comes to migration.

Every migrant and every country are experimenting the migration in different way. Even within countries, there may be large variations between regions, cities and villages, first of all in the numbers of those leaving and in the numbers of those arriving. Migration is therefore a global phenomenon, but often also very local. Migration has always been part of human history and will remain so.

In the future, more and more people in developing countries, as well as in more developed countries such as Italy or the countries of the European Union, will have to be able to consider migration, permanent or temporary, as the search for new opportunities.

Migration has always been part of the history of humanity and it will remain so. In future more and more people in both developing and developed countries especially in Europe, in North America, are likely to consider migrating, either permanently or temporarily, to seek new opportunities and improve the transport links around the world has made it easier to travel, while the internet is an ever expanding storehouse information of job prospects and life in other countries. To cross a borders in every part of the globe is more like chasing a dream, it is pursuit of chance to find better life.

Nevertheless, what do we mean by "international migrants"? There is a broad interpretation of the term "international migrants", it includes a very diverse group of people. Understanding this diversity can help to understand why people migrate and provide clues about how countries can better manage the challenges and opportunities of migration in a globalized world.

In any case we need to observe Italy as border state, we need to consider that according to data provided by the United Nations, the United States is the country of the world that hosts more immigrants, while India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are the nation from which it emigrates more.

Italy does not appear in the top ten of the countries with the greatest immigration, while the UK, Germany, France and Spain are listed. Globally, there were an estimated 258 million international migrants in 2017. Of these, nearly 57 per cent lived in the developed regions (the "North"), while the developing regions (the "South") hosted 43 per cent of the world's migrants.

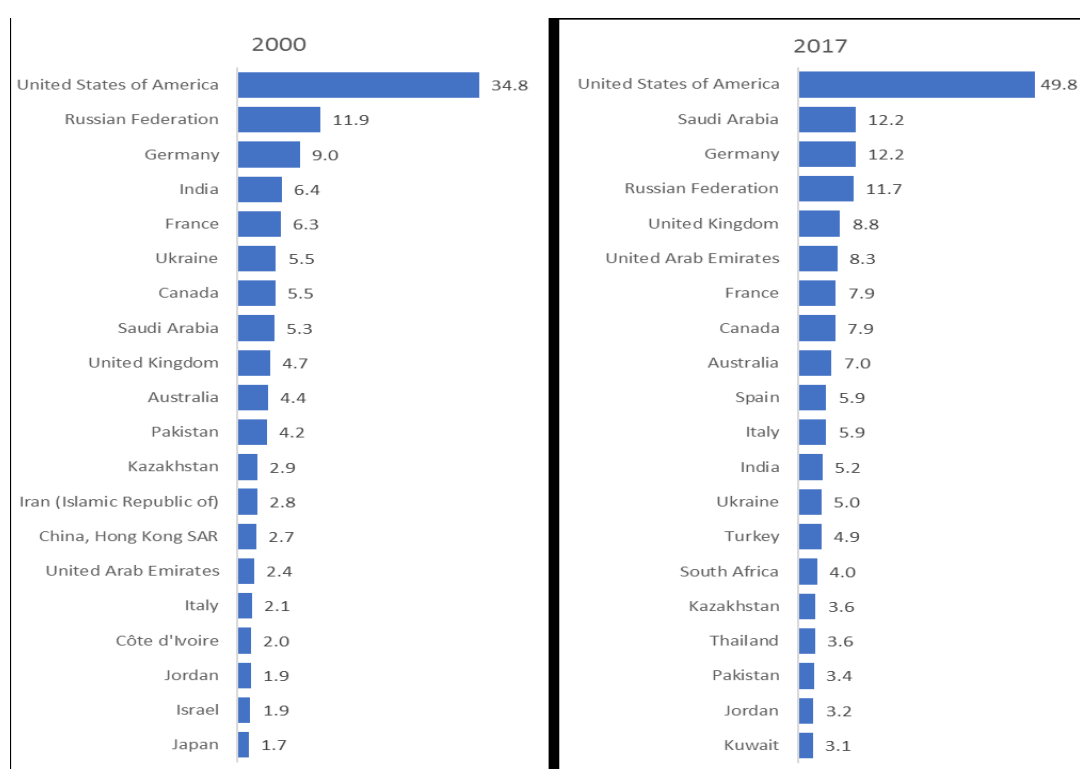
Of the 146 million international migrants living in the North in 2017, 89 million, or 61 per cent, originated from a developing country, while 57 million, or 39 per cent, were born in the North. In the meantime, 97 million, or 87 per cent, of the 112 million international migrants residing in the South in 2017 originated from other parts of the developing regions, while 14 million, or 13 per cent, were born in the North.

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<sup>1</sup>see Ballerini A. and Benna A., *Il muro invisibile: immigrazione e Legge Bossi-Fini*, Fratelli Frilli Editori, Genova 2002.

Globally, the twenty largest countries or areas of origin account for almost half (49 per cent) of all international migrants, while one-third (34 per cent) of all international migrants originates in only ten countries. India is now the country with the largest number of people living outside the country's borders ("diaspora"), followed by Mexico, the Russian Federation and China. In 2017, 16.6 million persons from India were living in another country compared to 13.0 million for Mexico (figure 7). Other countries with significant "diaspora" populations are the Russian Federation (10.6 million), China (10.0 million), Bangladesh (7.5 million), Syrian Arab Republic (6.9 million), Pakistan (6.0 million) and Ukraine (5.9 million). Of the twenty largest countries or areas of origin of international migrants, eleven were located in Asia, six in Europe, and one each in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Northern America<sup>1</sup>.

**Twenty countries or areas hosting the largest numbers of international migrants, 2000 and 2017, number of migrants (millions)**



Source: United Nations (2017)<sup>2</sup>

Thanks the UN report the situation it is clean and clear. Europe is currently witnessing a mixed-migration phenomenon, in which economic migrants and asylum seekers travel together. In reality, these groups can and do overlap. Rather the problem is the deficiency in application in all EU's twenty-seven member, the inconsistent methods with which asylum applications are often processed across the states, calculate the distribution. The central problem it than becomes how to reconcile a rise in immigration with the preservation of solidarity within the population that enables the welfare state to function. In fact, this is one of the main topics on

<sup>1</sup> Source: United Nations International Migration Report 2017: Highlights

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<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017.pdf>

which the political debate is focused in view of the last Italian elections of 2018 is certainly immigration, but also this is, and has been, a current topic in other countries in Europe.

In an increasingly globalized world one wonders about the goodness and adaptability of the policies implemented so far with regard to immigration. We discuss about their reconciliation with a world that changes and looks at a society that should be based more and more on cultural identity and tolerance. These words, cultural identity and tolerance must be accompanied to the keywords peace and freedom. I am not optimistic about our immediate prospects.

We have to live in several worlds, more or less obsolete, in fact we are living in globalisation world with global business opportunities. Globalisation was held to be an inevitable and unstoppable force. Today it is impossible to reject the globalisation, because is like to reject the future, as a consequence of globalisation what was remote is now near. In practice, this often meant that industry would move from rich countries, where labour was expensive, to poor countries, where labour was cheaper. People in rich countries should accept lower wages to compete or lose their jobs, this is a philosophy that rich countries implement.

Some countries like China implement it indiscriminately, also bringing wealth, but producing a strong bond that becomes a new form of economic colonialism. This happens above all in Africa, but also in some Latin American countries.

The labour system suffers from it, the formerly producing goods would now be imported and even cheaper. The unemployed could get more qualified jobs, but they must have adequate training. Economists and politicians give credit to globalisation, with little concern about political consequences. The global market put into circulation not foods but also person, we have a mix of people from all over and also usages and customs, languages, perceptions, perfumes never practiced and not only as short-lived tradition but as everyday reality and life.

Neither side really believes in the doctrine of co-existence that is the only hope of peace and freedom. If there is a world economic war, only the most patriots can believe that the victor will bring lasting freedom and good will to the world and such people are not apt to be good freedom makers. The globalisation may create poverty, poverty improve immigration, the equation is really simple considered that in Europe, we started discussing cultural identity later, starting from the end of the Cold War, in the light of the urgencies posed by the new challenges that European societies as the enlargement process, the migratory flows, the changes in world politics and the global economy.

The context in which the discussion has developed makes it possible to understand why cultural identity in Europe has for the most part been argued as a new declination of freedom. Now, faced with globalisation and economic crisis, the cultural identity in some ways seems to have characteristics similar to those of the modern era, in fact religion, along with the culture, can be, if without a correct governance, again global source of wars and clashes, the cultural identity must be become a tool of possible political pacification. In this scenario if we consider Multicultural and cultural identity as words frequently used to describe the ethnic diversity which exists everywhere in the world today<sup>1</sup>, we need to find an answer to the questions: is cultural identity compatible with national identity? and does cultural identity simply mean a tolerance of cultural diversity?

To have answers about these questions is really complex and difficult, but we would like to analyse for example what is happening today in Italy, where we have a complicate electoral system inserted in an intricate political system, in fact, an untested mix of first-past-the-post and proportional representation is now likely to produce a suspended parliament, in parliamentary system, leading to months of horse-trading before an unstable right-left coalition is formed,

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<sup>1</sup> See Watson C. W., *Cultural identity*, Open University Press, 2000.

possibly including Lega Nord (Northern League) the most Italian Populist and anti-immigration party. far-right party that have also openly addressed precisely those concerns, attracting the support of many historically centre-left voters, while at the other end of the spectrum, a new anti-capitalist, anti-globalisation, anti-establishment. Lega Nord has proved just as big a threat.

We understand that we are far from a multicultural idea of society, because at present Italy is undergoing one of its periodic disavowals of nationalism - that is the recognition of a shared common language, culture, and history. In the mid-nineteenth century many of the components states opposed the unification of Italy because they did not want to give up their power to one central government. Despite the fact that the liberal revolution took place at the same time as the national revolution, it was the values of conservative nationalists rather than liberal federalists that became institutionally embedded by the late nineteenth century. Many of the debates surrounding the claims of nationalism, federalism and separatism were first formulated in the period of Italian history known as the "Risorgimento"<sup>1</sup>, a fundamental period for the construction of Italian national identity.

Often who is against the multicultural idea of society is against the tolerance, but often we have any relation with the ideology. However, this is not to say that discontent with an over-centralist state cannot have a positive impulse, and there are several aspects of the federalist project that still have a serious motivation. At present though the government appears to be behaving in an increasingly irrational manner while the rest of the country is becoming gloomier at the prospects of Italy's long-term future. The only crumb of comfort is that the League focuses exclusively on right-wing populist groups and not on small groups involved in racist and xenophobic violence or terrorism. Today the League remains one of Europe's oddest political contradictions. In a world of global interdependence, the only chance of guaranteeing democracy is to found relationships among states on right rather than might, through a federation of the peoples<sup>2</sup>.

At least it is possible to say that the Northern League continues to send its representatives to the regional legislatures, it has six cabinet ministers in the national government and has two representatives in the European parliament<sup>3</sup>. For the League, federalism guarantees "unity within difference", but its leader continues to flirt irresponsibly with a hypothesis of secession that is entirely opposed to the spirit of a common Italian federalism, without distinction between North and South. How can the League support the idea of a common European citizenship when it does not even believe that the citizens of Italy should have the same rights and entitlements? Our conclusion in relation with this problem is that sometimes separatist movements are superficially based upon nationalism or religious fervour. That is not the case of Italy. The northern Italian separatist movement is an example of an almost purely economically based separatist group, but with a special variation, a 'demented' Italian form, and to quell any doubts it is sufficient to listen to Bossi before and Salvini a new leader today, during their meeting at Pontida, or at his rallies in any other part of Northern Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> The Italian national unification movement it is known as the Risorgimento, which means the recovery of the nation. Nationalism was the most successful political force of the 19th century.

<sup>2</sup> See Figus A., *Italian Politics at the Crossroads: Nationalism, Separatism or Federalism?* Journal of Political Science, Volume I, Issue 1, ISSN 1934-7227, SIJ – Saint Cloud, MN 56301, USA, 2007. On the website: [http://www.scientificjournals.org/journals2007/j\\_of\\_law\\_ethics\\_ip.htm](http://www.scientificjournals.org/journals2007/j_of_law_ethics_ip.htm)

<sup>3</sup> See Diamanti Ivo, *La Lega, Imprenditore politico della crisi. Origini, crescita e successo delle leghe autonomiste in Italia*, Meridiana, 1993, n.16 and Diamanti Ivo and Mannheimer Renato, *Milano e Roma: guida all'Italia elettorale del 1994*, Donzelli, Roma, 1994 and for a further investigation, see also the book of Mannheimer, Renato, (a cura di) *La Lega Lombarda*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1991.



The problems brought about by immigration gave the far right the possibility to exploit fully an openly xenophobic propaganda, centred on racism. Here the nationalism is not the matter as the federalism or any other political system.

Rather the problem of tolerance it is related with the designing immigration strategy from foreign countries, also was in the past from people from southern Italy. In fact, the Northern League, instead of insisting on nationalist values, insists on regionalism and foments tensions inside the country between North and South and against the diversity.

The campaign is preventing the “different”, in this case “the foreign”, but using a system of equations for unemployment, immigration, wage and gross domestic product, the estimation of a co-integration relationship shows there is no observed increase in aggregate unemployment due to immigration in the long run<sup>1</sup>, in this case why to be afraid?

Let's look beyond, to the challenges to the modern dream of democratic citizenship appear greater than the presence of severe ethnic, religious, and linguistic divisions in society, multicultural society already exists, it is enough to realize it.

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Alessandro FIQUIS

### MƏDƏNİ İDENTİKLİK, MİQRASIYA VƏ MİLLƏTÇİLİKDƏN XARİC

#### Xülasə

Məqalədə bildirilir ki, BMT-nin göstəricilərinə əsasən, ABŞ dünya üzrə ən çox imiqrant qəbul edən, Hindistan isə ən çox emiqrant göndərən dövlətdir. İtaliya miqrant qəbul edən onluğa daxil olmasa da, Böyük Britaniya, Almaniya, Fransa və İspaniya bu onluğa daxildir. Dövlətlər miqrantların sayının artmasına yerli əhalinin həmrəylik göstərməsi üçün maksimal səy göstərir.

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<sup>1</sup> See Formentin V., *The Relationship Between Immigration and Unemployment: The Case of France*, *Economic Analysis and Policy*, Volume 43, Issue 1, March 2013.

İtaliyadakı son 2018–ci ilin seçkilərinin siyasi debatlarda əsas mövzu miqrasiyaya münasibət idi. Demək olar ki, bu mövzu bütün Avropa ölkələrində diqqət mərkəzindədir. Qloballaşan dünyada insanlara miqrasiyanın faydası və adaptasiya məsələlərini başa salmaq zərurəti yaranır. Miqrantlara qarşı diqqətli olmaq, mədəni identikliyi qəbul etmək, səbr göstərmək lazımdır. Həmrəyliyi qoruyub saxlamaqla sülhə necə nail olmağın yollarını axtarmaq əsas problemlərdəndir. Məqalədə bu barədə təkliflər irəli sürülür, təcrübəyə müraciət edilir.

**Açar sözlər:** mədəni identiklik, miqrasiya, seçkilər, siyasət, millətçilik, həmrəylik, tolerantlıq.

Алессандро ФИКУС

## ВНЕ КУЛЬТУРНОГО ТОЖДЕСТВА, МИГРАЦИИ И НАЦИОНАЛИЗМА

### Резюме

Согласно данным ООН, США являются страной, которое принимает самое большое количество иммигрантов в мире, в то время как Индия страна, откуда больше всего эмигрируют. Италия не входит в десятку стран, принимающих большое число мигрантов, в то время как Соединенное Королевство, Германия, Франция и Испания входит в нее. Государства прилагают большие усилия для сохранения солидарности между местным населением и большим числом прибывших в страну мигрантов. Одна из главных тем, которая стояла в центре политических дебатов на последних выборах в Италии в 2018 году была иммиграция. Можно сказать, что эта тема была центральной и в других странах. Следует внимательнее относиться к мигрантам, вопросам адаптации и пользе от миграции принимать идентичность культуры и быть терпимее к ним. По этому вопросу в статье даются рекомендации.

**Ключевые слова:** культурная идентичность, миграция, выборы, политика, национализм, солидарность, толерантность.

**Rəyçi:** AMEA Fəlsəfə İnstitutunun aparıcı elmi işçisi, s.e. f.d. Anar Bağirov  
**Qəbul edilib:** 27.01.2019